

**SECRET**

June 6, 1949

Dear Pilgrim:

I am enclosing two pieces of original correspondence received here by a mutual friend that contain provocative thinking, and therefore may be of value to you or some of your associates. If the correspondence should be circulated widely, you may wish to have cut out the proper names that appear throughout the text.

Yours sincerely,

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CONFIDENTIAL

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMERICAN EMBASSY

Cairo, Egypt, May 28, 1949

Dear Mr. ....

This morning Mr. Abdyl Sula, Charge d'Affaires of Albania, called at his request. Mr. Sula is carried on the current Egyptian Diplomatic List as Charge d'Affaires of his country and is a holdover from the regime of King Zog.

He referred, in his talk, to the visit which you had paid to Alexandria and in which Mr. Martini, Chamberlain to King Zog, had facilitated an audience. Apparently King Zog had, as a result of your and Mr. .... call at his residence, gained the impression that you and possibly the Department of State were interested in a visit to the United States by Mr. Midhat Frashery, formerly Albanian Minister to France and now resident in Italy.

I replied that the matter lay somewhat without my competency. Thereupon, Mr. Sula, who had visited the United States in 1947, stated that he would like to escort Mr. Frashery to America. (Mr. Sula's trip had been preceded by some correspondence between this Embassy and the Department due to uncertainties concerning his status. The Department, by telegram 843, May 29, 1947, 5 p.m., had authorized issuance of a Section 3(2) visa to Mr. Sula on non-immigrant form 257, since his passport was issued by the former King Zog. I informed Bill Jenkins of the Near Eastern Division of the Department of this travel by letter of June 14, 1947.)

In reply to Mr. Sula's latest representations I stated that I had no idea whether or not the Department was desirous of consulting him or Mr. Frashery; but that I could make inquiry on the subject. Mr. Sula requested that I communicate with the Department in regard to the proposed travel, adding that King Zog was favorably disposed toward Mr. Frashery but that he would like him, a Moslem, to be accompanied by a Christian. On my expressing some surprise that Mr. Sula should claim to be the latter since his wife is a relative of the head of the Bektashi Monastery in Cairo, Mr. Sula admitted having been born a Moslem but that he had become more or less of a free thinker. He apparently has not the slightest connection with the orthodox church.

I weary you with these details since I feel it desirable to request an expression of your views concerning the interest of Messrs. Sula and Frashery in visiting the United States prior to addressing the Department on this subject.

With cordial regards, believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

/s/ Jefferson Patterson  
/t/ Jefferson Patterson

Angel Kouyoumdjisky  
Hotel de Crillon  
10, Place de la Concorde  
Paris, 8

**SECRET**

Paris, May 10, 1949  
(recd May 23)

Telephone: Anjou 24-10.

Mr. Spencer Phenix  
Director of Finance Division  
ECA  
c/o American Embassy  
Athens

Dear Spencer,

Since writing my letter of yesterday's date, I have had a very personal and confidential conversation on the subject with Mr. Cosmetatos, Adviser to the Greek Embassy in Paris.

Mr. Cosmetatos is anxious that his name should never be mentioned in connection with this matter, his situation, as you will appreciate, being somewhat delicate.

It is Mr. Cosmetatos' opinion that no Greek Government, unless it be a Communist government, will ever admit that there are any Macedonians in Greece, particularly in view of the exchange of populations that was effected after the 1914-1918 war, in accordance with the terms of the Peace Treaty.

This particular question, it seems, is going to be the most difficult one.

From another source, I have learnt that the opinion of certain Americans, as a consequence of Greek and Yugoslavian influence, is that Vantche Michailoff no longer has the same power as he had before, and that as a Macedonian chief he has completely lost his prestige. It is felt therefore that he can play no useful part now in the present problem. These same Americans think that the Protegerof Macedonian party has much more influence today than Vantche Michailoff's group. But everyone seems to have forgotten that the Protegerof party sided with the Russian policy during the war, and were very good friends of the present Minister of Bulgaria: Dimitroff. The Chief of the provisional Macedonian Government in Yugoslavia today, Mr. Vlahoff, is one of the chiefs of the Protegerof group!

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My own opinion about Vantche Michailoff is quite different. I feel indeed that in view of the difficulties now existing between Yugoslavia and the Bulgarian Government, at the head of which is Dimitroff, Tito will seek a direct contact with Vantche Michailoff in an endeavor to eliminate the increasing hostility being shown by Dimitroff towards Tito and towards the country governed by Tito.

Should you be interested in meeting Vantche Michailoff, or should the War Department wish to interview him, let me know and I shall do my best to arrange a meeting.

I may possibly have to leave for the States shortly on urgent business, in which case I would advise you by cable of my departure, but if you receive no cable from me, then it is that I am still in Paris.

I leave you to judge whether the enclosed letter and the accompanying notes should or should not be shown to Mr. Berry. He in turn will decide whether Washington should be advised of the information contained therein.

With best regards,

Yours very sincerely,

Angel Kouyoumdjisky.

P.S. So far, I have not seen Elizabeth. I suppose she has not yet been through Paris on her way to Sofia

(the note in French added nothing & so is not included)

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Paris, May 9, 1949

Angel Kouyoumdjisky  
Hotel de Crillon  
10, Place de la Concorde  
Paris 8

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Telephone Anjou 24-10

Mr. Spencer Phenix  
Director of the Finance Division  
Economic Cooperation Administration to Greece  
Athens

Dear Spencer,

Very shortly after our conversation during your recent stay in Paris, I received, strangely enough, a letter from the Chief of the W.M.R.O.: Vantche Michailoff, asking me whether I could arrange to meet him. His letter had been a very long time reaching me as he had sent it to my pre-war address, 115 avenue Henri-Martin, from where it was successively forwarded on till it finally came here.

You will understand that the temptation to meet Vantche Michailoff was too great to be resisted. I therefore answered his letter, and accepted to meet him. We accordingly met at some small town between Rome and Vintimilia.

Vantche Michailoff was very pleased to see me. We had two conversations together: the first lasted three hours and the second four hours and a half. I need hardly tell you that conversations of this kind are serious and somewhat delicate, as well as dangerous.

Ever since the Liberation, Vantche Michailoff has been in exile, for a time in Germany, then in Austria and then again in Italy, but always in the American zone of these countries.

Vantche Michailoff is a strong anti-communist and a strong anti-soviet. He has always been in favor of an independent Macedonia, that is to say a Macedonia that would not be under the yoke of Bulgaria, nor that of Greece, nor that of Yugoslavia, and, least of all, under the yoke of Russia. Vantche Michailoff is a true Macedonian, and it is as such that I know him. He is a great idealist, and neither moral nor material personal interests play any part in his politics.

I asked Vantche Michailoff to write down in black and white

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the questions he wanted to put to me and the facts with which he wanted to acquaint me. He accordingly prepared some notes for me which I am submitting to you exactly as they have been submitted to me. From these notes, you will be able to judge Vantche Michailoff's feelings for his native land Macedonia, and his opinions on the question of making Macedonia an independent State.

I had already met Mr. Vantche Michailoff on two occasions before the war. My impression then was that although Vantche Michailoff was keen on seeing Macedonia become an independent State, he wanted this Macedonian State to be under the yoke of Bulgaria. In other words, I thought that he was in favor of a Federation uniting Macedonia and Bulgaria. I raised this particular point with Vantche Michailoff when I was with him recently and he assured me very sincerely that I had misjudged his intentions. The Macedonian language, it is true, closely resembles the Bulgarian language. It is true, too, that Vantche Michailoff was given asylum in Bulgaria, nevertheless Vantche Michailoff never considered Bulgaria as his own country; his heart and mind were always in Macedonia.

The suggestion made by Vantche Michailoff in the enclosed notes, that Macedonia should be an entirely independent buffer State, on the pattern of the Swiss State, proves that he has no wish to see this independent Macedonian State come under the yoke of Bulgaria, nor that of Yugoslavia, nor, least of all, under the Russian yoke.

Vantche Michailoff's plan is to unite the Bulgarian, Yugoslav and Greek parts of Macedonia into one independent State, whose citizens, whatever their nationality and whatever their creed, would enjoy equal privileges and rights, as in the case of Switzerland. The immigrants would all return to their country of origin.

Vantche Michailoff further suggested that this Macedonian independent State should remain under the control and management of the United Nations Organization, Russia's propaganda aiming at a Macedonian State under Russia's control would be entirely frustrated.

In the interests of America and Greece, Vantche Michailoff also recommends, in order to save America further heavy expense and in order to stop the further loss of Greek lives, the establishment of an independent Macedonian State under Greek control, in the Greek part of Southern Macedonia. This would dispel

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the mistrust and fear of the Macedonian population regarding the true purpose of the Western World's endeavor to solve the Macedonian problem. At the same time this would make Russian propaganda ineffectual.

In making these suggestions, Vantche Michailoff was, to some extent, guided by certain information he had received from competent sources, according to which it seems that in spite of the conversations and negotiations to be conducted during the month of May with a view to settling the German question, and, eventually, reaching an understanding in the cause of Peace, Russia is determined to destroy Tito completely, and to send still larger numbers of civilian troops to Bulgaria and Albania, eventually replacing the Greek guerrilla by Russian, Bulgarian and Albanian guerrillas. It would appear that nothing will deter Russia from executing these plans, whatever concessions she may eventually agree to make so far as the Balkans are concerned, which concessions, in any case, would only be temporary.

Vantche Michailoff reminded me that Stalin was playing the same role now as that played by the Russians when Sultan Abdul Hamid was in power, and they encouraged the Komitadjis; this part of the Balkans at the time was still a Turkish province.

According to Vantche Michailoff's information, I understand that ten thousand Russian soldiers are now being trained; as soon as they are ready, they will be sent to Bulgaria, as civilians. Immediately on arrival in Bulgaria, they will be given the Bulgarian nationality, and they will then join the rebels in the mountains to take part in the fight.

It seems, according to Vantche Michailoff, that Russia has set her mind on looking upon the Balkans as a Russian province, including, not only Greece, but the Bosphorus as well.

It is Vantche Michailoff's opinion that through their propaganda in Macedonia, the Russians want to persuade the Macedonians that they cannot expect to receive any kind of help from the Western world whose aim, the Russians declare, is to make Macedonia, Bulgaria and Albania a Greek province, thus cutting off these countries from the Adriatic. That is why Vantche Michailoff is strongly in favor of creating a buffer state.

As explained before, Vantche Michailoff says that the first step is to get Greece to make the Greek part of Southern Macedonia an Independent State, under the control of Greece. He considers this would be the wisest solution as it would save America further expense and would avoid her having to maintain such an important organization in Greece.

Mr. Vantche Michailoff feels, too, that this would have the effect of bringing the entire Macedonian population on the Aegian sea closer together: Bulgarians, Rumanians, Albanians and Greeks,

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and would make the Macedonian population realize the necessity of uniting its forces to protect the Aegian Coast against any possible aggression from the North.

Vantche Michailoff further stated that the creation of an independent buffer Macedonian State would have the result of lessening the division and discord existing at present among the Greeks.

Vantche Michailoff informed me that the intention of Russia is to make an independent Macedonian State of Pirin (in the region of Petritch, Bulgaria) in order to win the population of the Yugoslavian part of Macedonia, that is to say the valley of Vardar. It is with this intention in mind that Russia has invited the chief of the Bulgarian Government to come to Moscow. The purpose of the plan is to encourage the Macedonian population to unite forces seriously with the Greek rebels against the Greek Government, and to avoid that the Bulgarians should, later on, be accused of having sent Bulgarian troops to Greece to join the rebels. Should Russia succeed in realizing this plan, it will confirm the opinion already expressed that whatever may be the outcome of the negotiations now being conducted by the great powers, the civil war in the Balkans will still continue.

I asked Vantche Michailoff why he and his group had collaborated with the Royalist Government during the war when King Boris promised to make Macedonia an independent state. Vantche Michailoff emphatically denied any such collaboration on his part, and told me that when King Boris and the Germans suggested he should be placed at the head of an independent and free Macedonian State, united to Bulgaria, Mr. Vantche Michailoff not only turned down the proposal, but advised the Bulgarian authorities and King Boris not to accept the Germans' proposal of declaring Macedonia an independent state; in any case the independency of this State would have been only temporary and would have ended with the end of the war.

Vantche Michailoff told me that he could not possibly envisage making Macedonia an independent state without first obtaining the consent of the United States. He very frankly told me he was not saying this merely because I happened to be an American citizen, and he went on to explain that the reason he was so insistent on getting the approval of the United States was that he greatly mistrusted England and felt that there could be no lasting independent Macedonian State without the previous consent of the United States. It is Vantche Michailoff's opinion that England has, in the past, made a great many mistakes in this part of the world, and is still continuing to make mistakes today. According to Vantche Michailoff, England is terribly distrustful of the Slavonic race. Vantche Michailoff says there is no foundation for this distrust as although the Macedonians have the same religion as the Russians, they have not the same principles and will never be Russians any more than they will ever be

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Bulgarians or Serbians. The Macedonians will remain Macedonians, always, whether the independent Macedonian State is under the control of the United Nations organization or the control of the Greek State.

Vantche Michailoff went on to explain that his party today consists, for the greater part, of Macedonians who were naturalized Americans a long time ago, and of Americans of Macedonian origin who were brought up in America. Vantche Michailoff said he belonged to the latter group.

When referring to "American" Macedonians, Vantche Michailoff of course means the non-communists, for since the war there has been and there is still today a number of American Macedonians who are being paid by Russia and by the Bulgarian Legation, and who have become Communists.

What I have at heart, declared Vantche Michailoff, is the welfare of my native land and the sympathy of the United States.

I know Vantche Michailoff sufficiently well to consider all he said to me as true and sincere. He pointed out that if he were considering his own interests, he would have accepted the Germans' offer to place him at the head of an independent Macedonian State during the war.

If the suggestion of creating a buffer state is accepted, it being understood that the entire population will enjoy equal rights, liberties and privileges, Vantche Michailoff is prepared to take all necessary measures to recruit an army of men among the Rumanians and Bulgarians in the southern part of Macedonia to destroy the work and aims of the Bolsheviks in this part of the world.

Vantche Michailoff feels that he would simultaneously succeed in defeating the effects of the Bolshevik propaganda in the northern parts of Macedonia, towards the Bulgarian and Yugoslavian territories.

He went on to say, as I have already briefly explained above, that he would recommend that the independent Macedonian State be placed under the control of the United Nations Organization for a period of ten years, at the end of which a plebiscite would be held, under the supervision of the United Nations Organisation, to find out the true feelings of the population.

Vantche Michailoff, in the course of my conversations with him, recalled the contents of a memorial which Mr. J. D. Bouchier, now deceased, addressed to President Wilson on this particular subject in 1918; a copy of this letter is reproduced below, followed by a few notes on the part played by Mr. Bouchier, at different period, in the Balkan question.

Memorial to President Wilson  
by J. D. Bouchier.

- 1) In the interests of justice and of the future peace of the Balkan Peninsula, it is necessary that the new frontiers of the Balkan States should be made to coincide as far as possible with the limits of the nationalities.
- (2) If in any instance this system of delimitation cannot be carried out, the principle that no Balkan people should be placed under the rule of another may still be maintained by according self-government to the population concerned.
- (3) In the case of Macedonia, the application of this principle is peculiarly desirable in view of the rival claims of neighboring countries, which have been the cause of infinite misery to the population for nearly half a century. Under an autonomous Government, the population would be enabled to care for its own interests, and to live and thrive without the molestation to which it has hitherto been subjected.
- (4) If we accept the theory advanced by the Serbians and Greeks that the national conscience of the Macedonians is "fluid", and displays no partiality for any foreign propaganda, the natural conclusion is that they should govern themselves, and that the principle "Macedonia for the Macedonians" should be adopted. If, on the other hand, there exists such a partiality, the bestowal of autonomy would enable this sentiment to declare itself freely in accordance with the principle of self-determination.
- (5) The autonomous Macedonian State would extend from the Shar Mountains (the Serbian ethnical boundary) on the north to the Aegean Sea on the south, and from the Bulgarian frontier on the east to the Albanian on the west. The southern frontier, extending from Lake Castoria to the mouth of the Vardar, would also retain Nigrita and the Chalcidike Peninsula.
- (6) It would be desirable that the autonomous State would be under the care of a Mandatory Power, American for preference, during the earlier years of its existence.
- (7) It would not be unreasonable to expect Serbia and Greece to renounce the Macedonian territory they have occupied since 1913 in view of the great extension which each of these States will now receive.
- (8) Salonica, which is commercially inseparable from the interior, would naturally become the capital of the new state. If this is thought impossible, a maritime outlet would still exist at Kavala.

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(9) The solution thus proposed would satisfy the widely-felt desire for autonomy which has existed in Macedonia and at Salonica for many years past, and would be in harmony with the principles laid down by your statesmanlike wisdom and accepted by the Allied Powers.

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Mr. J. D. Bouchier

Mr. James D. Bouchier was Balkan correspondent for the London Times from 1888-1920. Four wars were fought on Balkan soil, and many insurrections which brought with them all the horrors of war broke out one after the other in Crete, Greece, Albania and Macedonia, while he was Balkan correspondent. None knew more of the inner history of the Balkan wars than did Bouchier. A great friend of the Greek and Bulgarian people, Bouchier was instrumental in bringing about the Balkan Alliance in 1912 against the Turks.

As a great expert on Balkan problems, Bouchier was never able to reconcile himself with the Bucharest settlement (August 1913) which left Macedonia divided between Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria. In articles to the TIMES as well as to the FORTNIGHTLY, QUARTERLY, CONTEMPORARY and other Reviews, he constantly pleaded for a just Balkan settlement. During 1919-20, he sojourned in Paris and made great efforts to win the diplomats and friends in behalf of the Macedonian people.

It was, above all, on the American Delegation to the Peace Conference and on President Wilson that Bouchier fixed his hopes for obtaining a just and final solution of the Balkan problem. He drew up a Memorial to President Wilson with regard to autonomy for Macedonia, to which were appended the signatures of a number of people who had spent some time in the Balkan Peninsula and had been able to acquaint themselves directly with the wishes of the people. The list of signatures include, among many others, the names of Colonel Leon Lamouche, the O'Mahoney, Sir Edward Pears, Dr. H. A. Gibbons, and Miss M. E. Durham, all noted authorities on the Balkan problem.

Mr. Vantche Michailoff's opinion is that there are only two ways of ending the civil war in Greece: Going to War with Russia and defeating her, or following Vantche Michailoff's advice regarding the establishment of an independent Macedonian State.

I am convinced that Vantche Michailoff is an idealist, and I feel that his recommendations are worthy of very serious consideration. The fact that he has suggested placing the independent state of Southern Macedonia under Greek control would seem to

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prove his good faith, for it is indeed the first time I have heard a Macedonian make such a proposal!

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Vantche Michailoff's ideas, in brief, are the following:

1. Create an independent Macedonian state, under Greek control, in the Greek part of Macedonia. This State should guarantee equal rights, liberties and privileges to its people (Macedonians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Rumanians, etc.)
2. The creation of such a State would have the following advantages:
  - (a) It would put an end to the Civil War in Greece;
  - (b) Greece would be protected on its northern boundaries, from Russia and from communism.
  - (c) The creation of such a state would put an end to the similar independent Macedonian State in the Bulgarian part of Macedonia (Pirin-Petritch). In wanting to create an independent state in the Bulgarian part of Macedonia, the purpose of the Russians is to attract the Macedonians that are in the Greek part of Macedonia as well as the Macedonians who are in the Yugoslavian part of Macedonia (Vardar-Skopie) thus strengthening the position of Russia in her fight against Tito and in the part she is playing in the Greek civilian war.

As an American, and from a purely American point of view, Vantche Michailoff's idea has, in my opinion, the following advantage:

By placing the new independent Macedonian State under the control of the United Nations Organization, this organization and the United States would be entirely free to protect the independent Macedonian State, by such means as they may consider fit, against Communism and against Russia's aspirations as regards the Aegean, Adriatic and Mediterranean seas.

\* \* \* \* \*

The question is a difficult one to solve, but I consider the plan suggested by Vantche Michailoff is the only way of driving the Russians out of the Black Sea and of the Adriatic.

Among the last questions I asked Mr. Vantche Michailoff were the following:

"Do you know Mr. Georges Dimitroff (G.E.M.E.T.O.) Chief of the Bulgarian Agrarian party and who is at present in exile in America?"

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Mr. Vantche Michailoff said that he did not know Mr. Georges Dimitroff personally, but that he knew of course that he represented the Agrarian party in America.

My second question was:

"Are you in relationship with Mr. Georges Dimitroff?"

Mr. Vantche Michailoff explained that he was in relationship with Mr. Dimitroff, but only through the medium of his (Vantche Michailoff's) representative in America.

My third question was:

"Are you in full agreement with Mr. Georges Dimitroff on the policy to be adopted in Bulgaria?"

Mr. Vantche Michailoff replied that so long as Georges Dimitroff is President of the Agrarian Party in America and so long as he continues to have the same anti-communistic and anti-bolshevik ideas, he will continue to side with him and with his policy.

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Before closing, dear Spencer, I want to make it clear that Macedonia does not interest me personally, neither does Bulgaria since I have liquidated all my affairs in this latter country. As you know, both the Communists and Royalists in Bulgaria confiscated and helped themselves to all my belongings during the war. Morally and materially they destroyed me, and at the same time destroyed all the sentiments that bound me to Bulgaria. The problem of the Balkans and that of Macedonia present for me no moral nor material interest. But I do feel that it is my duty to neglect nothing that might further the cause of peace. And I consider it my duty, too, to do everything I can to help the country to which I now belong.

As announced in the first part of this letter, and in order to avoid any misunderstanding concerning Mr. Vantche Michailoff's project, I am enclosing Mr. Michailoff's own notes as given to me. Our conversations were based on these notes.

I wanted to write to Cavendish Canon, but, unfortunately, I have not the possibility of doing so. I leave it to you to communicate the contents of this letter to him, should you consider it proper to do so. I would ask you as far as possible to avoid mentioning my name.

With kindest regards,

/s/ Angel Kouyoumdjisky

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